249 intended for the next sowing are taken off. Since the principal crop of the field has meanwhile been harvested and the field therefore has been abandoned, the young tobacco plants which have developed from prematurely ripened seeds are taken home and planted in the vicinity of the house.

Further treatment of the leaves consists simply of drying them in the house, either on the drying lofts (one or two days) or under the roof, underneath the mats into which the stalks are pushed so that the leaves hang down freely (depending on the distance from the fire, three to five days). Naturally, the Pangwe know nothing about the fermentation process; it may once in a while take place accidentally when the leaves are kept tied together in a basket. Usually, however, so many brothers, friends, and members of the kin group appear on the scene that the entire harvest is distributed.
● [423] Tobacco is regarded as communal property, so to speak; just as the pipe in the meeting house is used by everyone in common, so are the tobacco leaves considered common property, and it is the custom to share them with the members of the village at each harvest.

In spite of the crude treatment of the tobacco leaf, native tobacco is supposed to be not at all bad, as I was assured by smokers. /172/ /Fig. 111 appears here in the original text./

Section 7

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Dress and Ornaments

1. Dress. Men's dress (loin cloths, belts). -- Women's dress (front apron, back apron, working dress). -- Children's dress. -- Hair style for children; for adults (helmet crests, helmet caps, occurrence, kinds, production). -- Hair style of the older people. -- Headdress. -- Beards.
2. Ornaments. Hair ornaments. -- Piercing the nasal septum. -- Nose ornaments. -- Forehead ornaments. -- Neck ornaments (necklaces and neck bands, neck rings made

325 791 [411] The next day the furnace, which has burned out down to the pit, is torn down, and the iron slag (esŭm), which lies on the top and has not burned out, is gathered together; broken into pieces, it serves as rifle ammunition (2). Then the medicine man calls

2. According to Du Bois it is "a poorly molten, porous slag with a high iron and titanium content and also includes charcoal fragments."

the bellows workers to the pit, and with his forging iron he knocks off the pieces of iron (obă'-ekiēi) (3) that are loosely attached to the

3. bā = to divide, e-bă'-s = scale, ekiēi - iron.

ore bloom. The larger pieces he takes for himself, the smaller ones he divides among the men so that each receives a small powder keg of them, which is his reward for the work. The medicine man, on the other hand, keeps almost twice as much for himself. On the 325 791 floor of the pit is the ore bloom, a large, firm, round to oblong iron lump (mpafăn-ekiēi I) (4); it belongs to the hut owner for whom 422

4. From the root pfa Ntum (fa Fang), "to narrow inward and to be narrowed in," here, "to be contracted, to be agglomerated." Compare pfa-n, "narrow strait"; a pfa-n, "to narrow"; pfa-k (active), "narrowed path or place," in particular between the house and plantains in the village; a pfa-ń, "to wrap around, to put a string around." The ore bloom is, according to Du Bois, "to be regarded as a malleable wrought iron heavily mixed with charcoal fragments and with a low carbon content, which can be transformed into a usable

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material only through forging."

the /233/ smelting has taken place, with the exception of a piece about the size of a head, which he must give to the medicine man. The ore bloom is pounded into little bits by the workmen right on the spot (Fig. 185). The workmen have the right to take home the splinters that fall off, and the owner does nothing further with it. These pieces (epfús-ekīẹ̄i) (1) are the end result of the iron smelting

[438]

1. pfū̄ -ī, "to knock off (piecemeal)."

and constitute a regular article of trade wherever European trade is not yet too highly developed. /Fig. 183 appears here in the original text./

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A few more figures about the expenses and the net profit. In giving these -- as for Bebai -- I assume a smelting period consisting of five smeltings with five owners of the smelting hut. The workers can buy the bellows for ten spears (= 70 pfennigs) from the bellows maker, or they can get them for nothing if they bring the necessary block of wood to the man's house. So far as I know, they must obtain the hide for themselves in each case. The clay blast pipe likewise costs ten spears (= 70 pfennigs), so each bellows worker has 20 spears (= 1.40 marks) in expenses. The owner or owners of the smelting huts have a single expenditure of about 120 marks for the medicine, not including the labor for the construction of the hut and the transportation of the ore. From the iron left to him as wages, each bellows worker earns at one smelting only 15 to 20 spears (= 1.05 to 1.40 marks); hence, from five smeltings he makes a profit of from five to seven marks from which the single expenditure /234/ /Fig. 184 appears here in the original text/ of 1.40 marks should be subtracted. The medicine man does better. From his share of loose iron he can earn 30 spears (= 2.10 marks) and from his share of core iron 50 spears (50 marks), so altogether he can earn 5.60 marks. From the five smeltings, therefore, he can earn a total of 28 marks. As regards the owner, the ore bloom for him amounts to 500 spears (= 35 marks). Altogether, the yield of one smelting period would amount to: (17 X 17 spears + 80 spears + 500 spears) X 5, 17 workers at 17 spears + medicine man + owner in five

586 535 The day on which the woman is to come out of the hut, she is bathed and anointed with an oil (mbon nzüi) and is seated on a stool placed in the middle of the village square. Other women sing and dance around her and give her a new name to represent a wish she has made.

There is no religious ceremony.

583 There also used to be a marriage by exchange of wives (mvole bunanga). With the mere consent of the women concerned, two men could exchange their wives. The parents of the wives did not interfere except to verify the amounts of the dowries and to make sure that the husband of the wife with the lesser dowry had fully paid the difference to the other.

543 562 The relations between married couples are simple: the man must lodge his wife and clear the brush from the site where she will make her plantings; on the other hand, the wife owes absolute fidelity and obedience to her husband, who has the right to beat her. The woman has no authority in the household; she is hardly more respected than a domestic animal; she owns in her own right only the cooking utensils and the tools for planting and fishing, and does not have the right to own animals. Prohibition of sexual relations is rigidly observed during pregnancy, during lactation, and in the night preceding departure for the hunt, work at the forge, and various [other] tasks. If the prohibition were not observed, these tasks would be unsuccessful.

595 Polygamy is the present custom among the Fan. The first wife has authority over the others, who must obey her. She receives the largest share of everything and assigns household chores and field work. The husband sleeps with each of his wives for three days.

684 837 In adultery, only the wife is punished. She is beaten and her accomplice pays an indemnity to her husband. This indemnity amounts to a quarter of the dowry. The wife confesses her adultery only when forced to by a series of corporal punishments which range from blows to being tied to a tree full of ants (akokum).

586 Repudiation is accomplished without difficulty: the man sends back his wife and the dowry is repaid him. The causes for repudiation are repeated adultery, the death of a child as a result of adultery, laziness, practice of fetishism, and excessive surveillance of the husband; sterility is not a reason for [90] repudiation. The children stay with the husband, and the woman, once repudiated, may remarry.

423 any stranger could plant melen palms (Elaeis guineensis) and sa
601 (Pachylobus edulis), but of a defense reflex to preserve control of a valuable crop and to ward off the wave of immigration it could attract.

An examination of forms of pawning fields leads to a similar con-
423 clusion: there is far from a complete right to dispose of property.
426 The harvest rather than the land is pledged. Among the Ewondo, in fact, the creditor may harvest and dispose of the produce. "Should the harvest surpass the debt, he will turn over to the debtor part of the produce. Since the owner runs the risk of having his land go to waste, the creditor may keep it in good heart and thus increase his credit. He may be induced to keep the property for several years: in fact, he keeps it long enough to be repaid out of the harvest. However, there is no assumption that he can keep it perpetually. Here we run into what is probably an important difference between the local land tenure and our own: everything takes place as if the land were inalienable (1)." The trend is similar among the Boulou, though

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux dans la zone cacaoyère du Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cacao-growing Region of the Cameroons/, L'Homme d'Outre-mer, No. 3, 1956 (no. 93).

it must be admitted that the question of pawning land does not raise serious economic problems at present. (J. B.) /76/

f. Personal Property

● 422 This is undoubtedly the only form of property originally recognized. Much of it seems to have been collective, at least as concerns valuable possessions: the ésa was in charge of these possessions, the family patrimony which served mainly to pay the minsuba, "bride prices." There was, however, individual ownership of useful objects, men's weapons, women's gardening tools and household equipment, objects that were buried with the owner. It seems, also, that there
[83] was a sexual differentiation between the various categories of possessions: biôm beyôm were masculine, biôm beyal were feminine, a distinction to be traced not to ownership, but to use and perhaps to origin. I have already mentioned that in the bilaba the njem bilaba of the west contributed imported goods, while his eastern counterpart

422 brought produce of the locality, the system of directions very probably being ascribed to sexual categories, the northeast area, male and the southwest area, female. It would be advisable to know more about the ritual use of different tools and implements in order to throw more light on the subject. We know that the saber, fa, is essentially male, that the hunting bell tied to a dog's neck, angôñ, is essentially female, that the drum-telephone, nkul, is androgynous (though women are not allowed to use it); the rifle, ngal, is probably epicene, and the same is true for a few other objects, but we know almost nothing about the effect of this sexual differentiation upon property and its conveyance.

In any case, since the introduction of a money economy, personal property /propriété mobilière/ has become almost entirely individual. Personal property /meubles/ that remains collective is primarily so by appropriation, like the equipment of associations, the profits of their subscriptions, sometimes objects bought in common by members of a family because of their cost or function—like the sewing machines obtained from Spanish Guinea after the last war, for instance.

422 Personal property still involves some restrictions for women and
513 young men, although they are less and less accepted. Respectful sons and submissive wives still allow their fathers and husbands to use the objects acquired by the earnings of their labor, but when they rebel the trend of the courts is increasingly in their favor. However, the obligatory aid arising from family ties still holds good, and to refuse to "lend" something to a monyañ is likely to be frowned on, which is a serious matter. Thus there survives a kind of right of collective family use working against individual /ownership of/ personal property.

g. Inheritance, Guardianship

422 These come about from death or disappearance. A paternal curse
578 did not entail loss of civil rights, but the possessions left behind by an accursed son who quit his village were confiscated and divided among his brothers.

428 The disposal of possessions left by a dead man, called élik from
[765] lik = to leave, took place at the end of the period of mourning, meyep, perhaps /77/ a mbu, six months after death. This waiting period tends to become shorter and in towns usually lasts a month,

children before marrying her off. In the economic sphere a young unmarried woman may freely undertake all sorts of commercial enterprises, whereas a married woman would need her husband's consent. Nor do divorce or widowhood, /82/ any more than marriage, emancipate a woman in theory. Escaping from her husband's guardianship, she falls back under the authority of the head of her family, but from the point of view of custom this is not a detrimental situation, since every person remains subject to his father.

Therefore the liberty women possess in managing their inheritance ought not to appear an anomaly. Besides, individual savings are widespread in Africa. And the division of property into masculine and feminine allows women and girls to own objects which neither husbands nor fathers may take from them. A partition of goods is the logical consequence of these assumptions.

Women theoretically have the right to dispose of the product of their labor—their harvest—but they must provide the basic foodstuffs. Only the surplus is sold, but in the majority of families when large sales take place the proceeds are divided between husband and wife. Women usually control the proceeds of day-to-day sales in a market or to passing travelers: petty amounts comprising only 10 percent of the total family budget. They may invest these profits by joining a tontine (a society in which each person makes a contribution on a fixed date and of which the capital is allotted to each member in turn).

Thus the traditional means for growing rich are limited. But changing customs are allowing women to follow various occupations that will make them independent. Women engaged in trade or dressmaking, for which they pay a license, business trade employees or saleswomen, theoretically have to be authorized by their husbands, who may decide how the earnings are to be spent. In actual fact women seem to be free agents. Even in the customary courts they appear alone, unaccompanied by fathers or husbands.

In the sphere of land tenure the trend is the same: women are acquiring a certain amount of property. With stabilization /i.e. settling down/, the growth of collective rights over cleared land or land good for tillage is quite understandable. The idea of allowing a personal right to a woman who is not truly a member of a family, but merely loaned to it, seems an aberration. This, nevertheless, is the situation among the Ewondo, where a divorced woman

Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains, bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her affinal household and which could not be removed until after death, by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten; placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore, these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type, from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English "slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home, imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from "woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese (from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons, "drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants. Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never